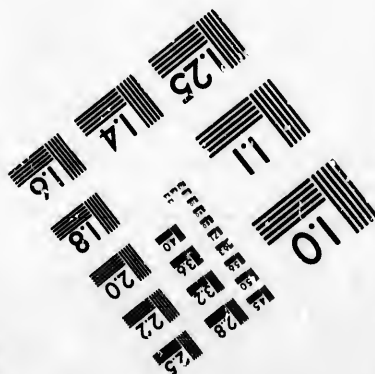
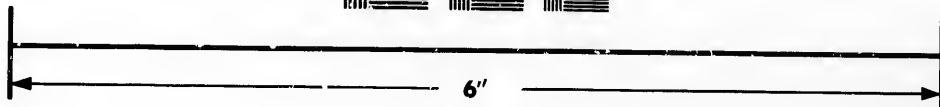
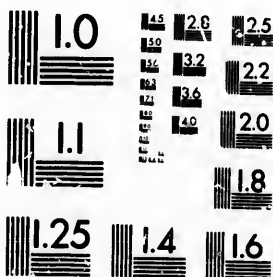


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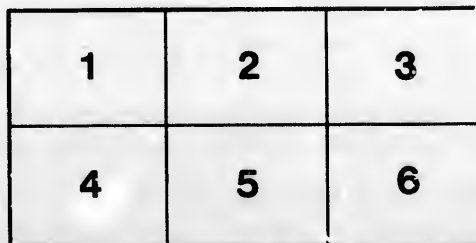
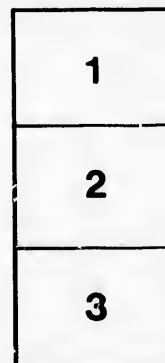
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# CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION



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## A REVIEW

OF THE

## SPEECH OF SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT

BY

MR. THOMAS WHITE, M.P. x

FOR CARDWELL, ONTARIO.

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# CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

## A REVIEW OF THE SPEECH OF SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT

BY

MR. THOS. WHITE, M.P. FOR CARDWELL, ONTARIO.

Mr. Thos. White, M. P. for Cardwell, addressed an influential meeting of his constituents at Bolton Village on the evening of the 8th June. The chair was occupied by Mr. Thomas Swinarton, ex-Reeve of the Township of Albion, and formerly member for Cardwell in the legislature of Ontario, who, in introducing the speaker of the evening, referred to the manner in which Mr. White had fulfilled the promise which he had made on his election in 1878 to visit the county from time to time. That promise had been faithfully kept, and each succeeding visit was looked forward to with increasing pleasure and interest by the people of the constituency.

Mr. White after acknowledging the kind words of the chairman, proceeded to say that the opposition in parliament had evidently resolved to commence a series of political gatherings and addresses, in the hope of increasing the public sympathy with their policy and fortunes, especially in the Province of Ontario. There could be no possible objection to their doing this, as the result would be an awakened interest in politics from which the conservative party, he felt satisfied, would not suffer. They had had the first gun of the campaign fired off a few evenings before in Toronto, the speech of Sir Richard Cartwright being evidently the opening of the battle, and the matter of that speech was no doubt intended to be the key-note of the subjects upon which the attack was to be made. As that speech professed to be the review of the session which had recently closed, he (Mr. White) could not do better than to follow the ex-finance minister in his statements and criticisms, and he believed that he would have no difficulty in showing that the speech abounded in errors of

fact and of argument. It divided itself naturally into two parts, the first practical, relating to things in Canada, as they are supposed to be, the second speculative, as relating to the future of Canada, and its constitutional relations to the mother country.

### OPINION CONCERNING THE PEOPLE OF CANADA.

And first, it was evident that the opposition had not a very high opinion of the people of Canada. Sir Richard Cartwright confessed to holding the somewhat unpopular opinion, "that in some important respects the people of Canada had retrograded seriously in the last few years." A somewhat similar opinion was expressed by Mr. Laurier, another leader of the party, in Montreal a few days before, namely that the people of the Province of Quebec were not patriotic, that they were not fit for independence, because, as he said, they on y elected fifteen liberals out of sixty-five members of the Legislative Assembly. (Laughter.) But both gentlemen, and indeed the party generally, were united regarding the people of Canada as a very bad lot. Sir Richard Cartwright was especially hard upon the representatives of Ontario, because, as he said, they consented to sacrifice Ontario's interests. But what seemed to be forgotten was that they were in a majority in this province, that whatever the merits of their policy, it was the policy of the people, assented to by an overwhelming majority in 1878, and again assented to, after four years experience of it, in 1882; so that the charge resolved itself into this: that the majority of the people of Ontario and of their representatives hold one view as to the interests of the province, and a minority the other. It was a new doctrine that the mi-



nority should be held to be right and the majority wrong.

#### PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

And what were the evidences of this failure to protect the interests of Ontario? So far as provincial rights were concerned, they belonged equally to all the provinces, and all the provinces were equally interested. The guarantee against provincial rights being invaded was to be found in the fact that those rights were protected by the same written constitution as are the rights of the Dominion. They could not, therefore, be successfully attacked. The cry that was raised was really an attack upon Dominion rights, it was a complaint that the federal government had exercised authority which had been conferred upon it by the framers of confederation, and embodied in the Union Act. Unless the authority which the government and parliament exercised, in relation to the provinces, was an authority conferred upon it by the Union Act, and therefore belonged to it, it could not be exercised at all; and the fact that the exercise of that authority by the executive was subject to the control of a parliament made up of provincial representatives was a proof that it could not be exercised arbitrarily or unwisely. What were the particular instances given by Sir Richard Cartwright as evidences of attacks upon provincial rights? There was first the disallowance of the Streams Bill, then the enactment of the License Act of 1883, and finally the assumption of control over many of the provincial railways by the Parliament of Canada. / As to

#### THE RIVERS AND STREAMS BILL,

an attempt had been made to prove that the recent decision of the Privy Council in favour of the contention of Mr. Caldwell, in the famous suit of Caldwell and McLaren, was a rebuke to the Dominion Government and to Sir John A. Macdonald. But it was nothing of the kind. Sir John Macdonald had offered no opinion on the merits of that dispute. If it was a rebuke to anyone it was to Mr. Edward Blake, who was Mr. McLaren's counsel, and whose opinion on the legal aspects of the case was reversed by the Privy Council. This was not to his discredit, for the opinions of the best lawyers are often set aside by the courts. He mentioned it simply as a matter of fact. Mr. Blake might take consolation from the fact that his opinion, although reversed in England, was sustained by thirteen judges in Canada against three, including all the judges

of the Supreme Court, and such others as Chief-Justices Draper, Richards and Hagarty. The question involved in the disallowance was not the merits of the legal dispute, but the fact that the dispute was at the time before the courts, which were alone competent to decide it; it was a protest against the assumption of judicial functions by a legislative body, a practice which, if it became a common one, would place the rights of every citizen at the mercy of a party majority in the legislature, and the propriety of the disallowance being in no way dependant upon the ultimate decision of the courts, has been in no way affected by it. (Cheers.) Then they were told that

#### THE LICENSE ACT OF 1883

was an attack upon provincial rights. What was the history of the case? The first official declaration of the propriety of a uniform regulation and control of the liquor traffic by the parliament of Canada was made by the Mackenzie government, and embodied in the speech from the throne delivered by Lord Dufferin in 1878. It was as follows:—

“It is very desirable that there should be uniform legislation in all the provinces respecting the traffic in spirituous liquors. Hitherto the trade has been regulated by provincial laws, or laws existing before the confederation of the provinces, although there has lately been a conflict of authority as to the jurisdiction of the local authorities.”

And a bill was promised on the subject. That bill was the Scott Act. Questions of jurisdiction arose under it, and it was carried to the Privy Council, where the right of the Parliament of Canada to regulate the liquor traffic, as belonging to the peace, order and good government of Canada, was affirmed. It was in view of that judgment that the Mc- Cartby Act was introduced and passed. Since then there had been a decision in the Hodge case, which seemed to contradict the other decision, and in view of the doubts on the subject the whole matter was, by the concurrence of the Dominion and provincial authorities, to be submitted to the courts for their decision. That, therefore, was not an attack on the rights of anybody—it was simply an attempt to procure a complete legal decision from the highest courts of the powers of the Dominion and provincial authorities respectively on a subject upon which grave doubts existed, and in relation to which it was most important to have these doubts set at rest. It was in fact an illustration of what he (Mr. White) had just stated, that the rights of the provinces are safe-

guarded by the constitution, and cannot be infringed upon by the Dominion or anybody else. (Cheers.) Then another case was given of an attack upon provincial rights by

#### THE RAILWAY ACT OF 1883,

which declared a number of railways, theretofore local, to be for the benefit of Canada, thus bringing them under the jurisdiction of the federal authority. Now of the right of Parliament to pass this act there was no doubt, the power was expressly given by the Union Act, and the only question was the policy of exercising that power. What did this railway act amount to? It did not remove the railways; they were there to fulfil their original function of developing the country. It did not assume any patronage connected with them, because the patronage, as well as the management, would continue to be, as it had been, in the hands of the corporations owning the railways. It simply declared that the same general laws which governed the trunk lines, which, connecting two or more provinces, were already under federal jurisdiction, should govern the lines which were for all practical purposes of commerce, branches of those trunks. As an example he mentioned the probability of the passage of an act establishing a railway commission. Personally he feared such an act would be another added to those sins of legislators of which Herbert Spencer had been writing in the *Contemporary*, and would do more harm than good. But suppose parliament established that court. With half the railways under provincial and half under Dominion control, only the latter would be subject to the commission, and in any dispute, people would have to find out whether the railway was a provincial or a Dominion one. So with the admirable amendments to the Railway Consolidated Act passed during the last two sessions, all of them emphatically in the interest of the people, and in restraint of the great railway corporations, these would apply only to the Dominion railways and not to the provincial ones. There could be no two opinions that it was eminently in the interest of the public that all the railways, which being connected together formed one complete system, should be subject to the same general laws, and that was all that had been done in this railway act, under which, listening to the speeches made by the opposition, one would imagine that the Minister of Railways had put their local railways in his pocket

and carried them off to England with him. (Cheers.) Then Sir Richard Cartwright had referred to the

#### DIFFICULTY OF GOVERNING CANADA.

After quoting from the speech of Sir Richard Cartwright, an extract in which he had said "it would almost in a political sense have been better if the Dominion had been divided into three islands, with the sea as a medium of communication between them," Mr. White went on to say: That was a remarkable statement, which will find few endorsers among sensible people. But we were not three islands; we were not divided by seas; we were co-terminous provinces, and the remarkable thing was that Sir Richard Cartwright's entire attack upon the conservative party when he came to deal with the finances, was in condemnation of the policy which sought, by uniting those provinces by the only means of commercial union possible, by a railway, to remove the difficulties which its physical features presented to its easy and good government. There is no doubt, as Sir Richard Cartwright said, that the study of the science of government is an important study for those who are in public life, as the study of politics is to all; but he must have trusted to an ignorance far more deplorable that he will find exists, when he ventured to say, referring to the triumph of the conservatives in 1878, that it was "precisely the same as if the people of the United States, after a full exposure of his deeds, had been pleased to choose the late Mr. Tweed as President of the United States, with Mr. Fisk as Minister of Railways, and Mr. Oakes Ames as Secretary of the Treasury." It was said that this statement had been received with loud laughter. If the loud laughter was at the ex-finance minister, he (Mr. White) did not object to it; but no gentleman, whatever his politics, could have listened to this statement without feeling that a gross insult had been offered to the people of Canada, who, for a quarter of a century, have sustained Sir John Macdonald as the central figure in the government of the country. (Cheers.) He next came to Sir Richard's

#### TREATMENT OF THE FINANCES,

and on this point he could not but regret that at a moment when the Finance Minister had gone to England to negotiate a loan for meeting the obligations of the Dominion, and

for the redemption of some of its maturing bonds, a gentleman who should speak with authority on this subject should have made the statements which he did make in Toronto. He had compared the financial position of Canada with that of the United States, that being now the favourite form of comparison with the opposition. His (Mr. White's) first complaint was that the comparison was for two different years, and was of ascertained expenditure in the United States and estimated expenditure in Canada. With rare exceptions, it was known that the actual expenditure seldom reached the estimate, and the fair way was to take the ascertained expenditure for the same year, 1883, in the two countries respectively. Sir Richard Cartwright complained that the expenditure per capita in the United States was five dollars per head and in Canada seven dollars, and he drew a doleful picture from this contrast. In the first place, he should have stated that Canada's expenditure included subsidies to the provinces, which in the United States were met by direct taxes in the several states. Those taxes amounted to \$61,434,095, and to that extent Sir Richard had underestimated the American expenditure for purposes of fair comparison. There were two items in the Canadian expenditure which should be deducted, if we would be fair in comparing the two countries; the first was the provincial subsidies, amounting to \$3,606,673, and the second the cost of collecting the revenue from public works, to which in the United States there was nothing to correspond, and which the revenue covered within about \$145,000, amounting to \$3,264,876. Deducting these from the ascertained expenditure of 1883, and we have an expenditure which may be fairly compared of \$21,859,609, or \$4.85 per capita, instead of seven dollars as stated by Sir Richard Cartwright. But

#### COMPARISONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

were not fair comparisons. That country had already reached a very large population before the era of railways, and it was able to offer the inducement of that large population to private capital for investment in railways. In Canada we had been compelled from the first to compete with our neighbours without the advantages of that large population. So far back as 1849, an act was passed by the Parliament of Canada, without division, although party spirit ran very high in that year, offering the guarantee of half

the cost of any railway exceeding seventy five miles in length. The Great Western, the Northern, and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic railways were built under that act, receiving in those early days a large assistance from the treasury of the province; and the Grand Trunk was built under substantially the same act. The building of the Intercolonial Railway was, by the consent of both parties, undertaken as a public work, built at the exclusive charge of the public treasury; and the Pacific Railway had in the same way been undertaken as a public work, both parties so regarding it. It was the necessity of meeting modern conditions over a wide territory with a sparse population which the United States, by the fact that they had a comparatively large population, before those modern conditions arose, have been saved from. Perhaps Sir Richard Cartwright's island theory might have prevented it; but then we were not those islands and we had to make the best of our geographical position. The United States gave aid in another way for the development of their western lines. They gave large land grants amounting in the aggregate to 188,326,031 acres, which at the price which the opposition have been in the habit of estimating the land grant to the Canadian Pacific Railway would make a considerable addition to the debt of the country. But with the exception, he believed, of a small money subsidy to the first Pacific railway, the United States, by the fact of their population, have been saved the necessity of building railways as state works. Sir Richard Cartwright ventured the opinion, when referring to the increase in the expenditure of the country, during the three periods, the first and last periods of plenty, the second a period of famine, that "there never was a more disgraceful exhibit;" and yet if he had taken the trouble to look at the earlier history of the United States, at the period before the war, which he tells us furnished an example of careful administration, he would have found that the expenditure increased from 1840 to 1850 by \$16,787,000, and from 1850 to 1860 by \$22,190,000, the country during that period exhibiting nothing like the development, as the direct results of federal expenditure, that Canada has shown during the last seventeen years. During that time we have increased our expenditure it is true by some \$16,000,000. But we had on the other hand to show three new provinces, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and British

Columbia added; the Northwest purchased and largely developed, the Intercolonial Railway built, and the Canadian Pacific Railway approaching completion; our canal system enlarged and improved at a cost of over twenty millions of dollars, large expenditures incurred in the operating of railways, and in the maintenance of Indians, besides numerous public works constructed throughout the Dominion. (Cheers.) He had pointed out that a comparison with the United States, which at the commencement of the railway era had already a large population, with Canada was a most unfair one. A more fair comparison would be with

THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

He would not trouble them with details, but the aggregate population of the Australasian group was in 1882, 2,983,502, about a million and a half less than the population of Canada, and the aggregate annual expenditure of the colonies was \$100,386,655, or \$34 per capita, about the same as the expenditure per family in Canada according to the exaggerated statement of the ex-finance minister. The debts of the Australian colonies in 1878 were, in the aggregate, \$337,575,005, and in 1882 they had increased to \$495,860,410, the increase in those five years being \$158,285,405, almost exactly the sum of the entire net debt of the Dominion, that net debt being \$158,466,714. (Cheers.) Then as to the per capita debt, that of Canada was a little over \$35: in South Australia it was \$126.75; in New Zealand \$290, in Queensland, \$312; in South Australia, \$210; in Tasmania, \$100; in Victoria, \$140, and in Western Australia \$86. But he had seen a statement made in a Canadian paper that those debts had all been incurred for remunerative public works. That statement was not quite accurate. Many of them were raised for public works, the governments having built railways, telegraphs, harbour docks and other works of that kind. But a large part of the loans had been raised for other purposes, notably for immigration. In New South Wales, for instance, no less than \$43.20 per capita of the debt had been incurred for other purposes than public works. But if that statement may be made as to Australia, as fairly justifying their debt, might it not with equal propriety be made of Canada. Our debt had increased since 1867 by \$82,738,073. Here were four items alone which had gone to

swell the debt:—Debts assumed of other provinces, that is the surplus debt of Ontario and Quebec, the increases allowed to other provinces as a compensation, and the debts allotted to new provinces coming in, amounted to \$20,452,340; Pacific Railway expenditure up to end of 1883, \$36,098,842; Intercolonial Railway, \$28,080,650, and public works, chiefly canals, \$29,336,266, making in all \$113,968,098, or \$31,230,025 in excess of the entire increase in the debt of Canada since confederation. He (Mr. White) ventured the opinion that there was no country in the world that could show more important assets, in the shape of public works, which added enormously to the development of the country, as accounting for the public debt. (Cheers.) But Sir Richard Cartwright had complained of

THE EXPENDITURE ON IMMIGRATION,

and had gone into an elaborate calculation to prove that nearly a quarter of a million of the three hundred and fifty thousand immigrants that came to Canada in the last ten years had left us, and he asked why we should go on spending money on immigration with such a result. He (Mr. White) would point out that the policy of to-day, in connection with assisted immigration, is substantially the same as that adopted by the present minister before he left office in 1873, was carried out by Mr. Mackenzie's government during all the years of depression, and was continued now, with this difference, that the efforts of the department are directed to restricting assisted passages to men fitted for agricultural labour, and to domestic servants. He could not understand the motive which was prompting the opposition to present to the emigrating public of the old world the picture in such a way as to show, if possible, that the country offered no inducements for permanent settlement. Last session we had a very clever speech from Mr. Blake, the result, evidently, of great labour. He had racked his brain over fractions and percentages, over the distinction between the foreign and native-born population, over the question of births and deaths and their relation to each other, over the accretions from natural increment and from immigration, and all with the view of showing that this unfortunate country was going to the dogs. (Laughter.) Everyone had felt when he sat down that it was very clever, but that it was a pity so much industry and ability had not been devoted to a more worthy object. He was not going to

discuss whether the figures were accurate or not. Some very clever letters in the *Mail*, from its Ottawa correspondent, had shown, as it seemed to him, that they were not accurate. But, for the point he wished to make, this was of secondary importance. What he desired to point out was that

#### THE SYSTEM OF MIGRATION

prevailed all over the continent, and, as he would show presently, elsewhere as well. People were moving constantly from the older settlements to newer ones, and as, until recently, we had not those newer fields, so equipped with railways as to compete in attractiveness with the Western States, people went to those Western States. That was changing. Manitoba and the Northwest was beginning to attract a large emigration from the United States, they presenting to-day the newest and most attractive field. At such a time it was neither wise nor fair to Canada for public men to emphasize evils which were the results of conditions over which we had no control, and which were giving way to the new conditions we had now to present. This tendency to migration among immigrants particularly, obtained in the Australian colonies quite as much as here. It was a popular error that those colonies had the advantage of holding the immigrants they obtained. But the facts he would give, as the record of five years, from 1878 to 1882, would show that this was not the case:—

	Immigrants.	Emigrants.
New Zealand.....	75,647	34,451
Queensland.....	84,586	52,555
Tasmania.....	55,914	51,006
Victoria.....	266,077	222,270

And in South Australia and Western Australia, for which he had the figures for 1882 only, the immigration to the former was 14,870, and the emigration 14,136, and the immigration to the latter was 932, and the emigration 838. Do we find Australian statesmen bemoaning the fact that people come and go, as they have been doing in Canada, and citing the fact as evidence either of bad government or of unfavourable conditions? Not a bit of it. They regard immigration as so important as adding to the fixed capital of the country, that they pay the full passages of certain classes of immigrants, and actually raise money by way of loan to enable them to do it. And what had been the effect on

#### ENGLISH PUBLIC OPINION?

A couple of facts would show. In January

last, one of the colonies, Victoria, he thought, had put a five million pounds sterling loan upon the English market, and, although its debt was already three times that of Canada per head, the loan was eagerly taken up, more than what was asked having been offered. So within the last few weeks, Tasmania, another of the colonies, had put a loan of £800,000 sterling, four millions of dollars, on the English market, making the minimum price 98 and the interest four per cent., and the result was an offer of over six times the amount required, and the loan was placed at a fraction over par. Yet Tasmania's debt, incurred for just such objects, connected with the development of the colony as has caused the debt of Canada to be increased, was more already than two and a half times greater than that of Canada. Where, then, was the difference? It was in this, that Australian statesmen were not found abusing their own country, fouling their own nests, as the ill-birds of the opposition in Canada had been and were doing. The Australian colony in London, as it was sometimes called, composed of returned Australian colonists, were always at work, irrespective of local political differences, in presenting a fair picture of the progress and promise of their country. They had in the colonies their political differences, and they fought them out vigorously, and sometimes bitterly; but upon one theme they were a unit, that no word should be uttered against the country itself. Here, on the contrary, we had public men, the leaders of one of the great political parties, grossly exaggerating, so exaggerating us to amount to positive falsehood, the figures in relation to the financial position of Canada, and understating, for purposes of comparison, those of our neighbours, with no higher object than that of injuring political opponents at the expense of serious injury to the country itself. (Cheers.) What were

#### THE EVIDENCES OF EXTRAVAGANCE

which Sir Richard Cartwright had given? His general statement was this:—"Why the moment when the revenue was known to be diminishing at a rate of \$500,000 a month, we find the parliament of Canada deliberately adding to the expenditures at the rate of one million dollars a day for every day of the session from January to April." If that statement was true he (Mr. White) would admit at once that the

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case was a serious one. But it was not true. It involved a dishonest mixing up of debt and expenditure, which was utterly inexcusable in any fair statement of the position. There was no addition of a million dollars a day to the "expenditure" of the country. Sir Richard's own statement of the "expenditures" involved in all the obligations incurred last session was an increase of about two and a half millions of dollars on the expenditure of 1883. But even taking this, eighty-two millions of dollars, which he referred to, as a correct statement of the debt and expenditure involved in the results of the parliamentary session of last year, and what was it? Thirty million was the ordinary expenditure of the year for carrying on the government of the country, collecting the revenue, maintaining and erecting public works, keeping up the militia, paying the treaty money, and feeding the Indians, paying the interest on the public debt, the subsidies to the provinces, and so on. That is an expenditure which in the nature of things must increase with the growth of the Dominion, just as in the United States during Sir Richard Cartwright's golden age of that much favoured country, it increased between 1850 and 1860 over twenty-two millions of dollars. But what are the facts in relation to the addition to the debt? First, there was the loan, which Sir Richard persisted in regarding as a grant to

#### THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

That was stated at thirty million dollars. It was well, however, in matters of this kind to be accurate, the amount of the loan to the Pacific Railway Company was \$22,500,000. The other sum, \$7,500,000, which we were told was added to the public debt is not due until 1887, and in the meantime at any rate is not added. It arose in this way:—Last fall, after the Canadian directors of the Pacific Railway Company had quarrelled with two of their American colleagues, Mr. Kennedy, of New York, and Mr. Hill, of St. Paul, because of their determination honestly to carry out the contract by building the railway north of Lake Superior, which he (Mr. White) believed those American gentlemen never contemplated, the company found themselves confronted with a vigorous bear movement in New York, and could not, except at an enormous sacrifice, place their stock so as to raise money to complete the line. They approached the government and asked for a

limited guarantee of interest; the negotiations resulted in the government consenting to do, what under the law they had a right to do, that is, to sell the company ten year annuities, that is a guarantee of three per cent. for ten years upon \$65,000,000 of the shares of the company. The company was to pay about \$15,000,000 to the government for those annuities, so that no risk whatever was run in giving the guarantee. The company paid about eight millions of dollars in cash, and deposited securities in the form of land bonds for the payment of the balance, \$7,500,000, within five years, in time to meet the second five years' interest guarantee. This arrangement was found not to work; the guarantee did not produce the result that was hoped for; so strong was the bear movement against the company's securities, and the proposal was then made that the government should advance \$22,500,000, taking as security a lien upon the unsold lands of the company, and upon the entire railway owned by it, and as the government took everything that the company had to offer, the payment of this \$7,500,000 at the end of the five years, so as to meet the interest guaranteed, was made part of the general obligation which was assumed towards the government, and subject to the same general forfeiture in the event of default. Now, that \$30,000,000 was not an increase to our debt. It was an advance, for which the company had to pay five per cent. interest upon ample security. What was

#### THE SECURITY FOR REPAYMENT?

First there was the land unsold, amounting to 21,246,600 acres, of which no less than 10,002,305 acres had already been earned by the company. The whole of that land, earned and unearned, went as a first security for the repayment of this loan. And although the company kept up its land office, and maintained all its machinery for the selling and settling of the lands, every dollar received from them went into the public treasury towards the payment of interest, and the repayment of the principal of this loan. Up to this time the lands sold by the company, and which had realized to them over nine millions of dollars, had averaged \$2.36 an acre; so that at that rate, and the lands of the American railway companies had realized a much higher average, we had from these lands the sum of \$50,141,976, a pretty good security for the repayment of thirty millions. Then we had the entire railway, not only that from Callander westward, which was al

that was included in the contract between the company and the government, but the line eastward to Montreal and Brockville, with the terminal facilities, the magnificent steamers, the workshops, and the splendid equipment of the line, the whole of which would be the property of the government without process of law, twelve months after any default by the company to pay either interest or principal, or to complete the line within the shorter time provided in the new contract, namely, the 1st May, 1886. The expenditure upon this railway by the company up to the time of making the arrangement with the government was \$58,695,365. Of this amount the company had received from the government in subsidies, under the original contract, including the proceeds of land sold, \$22,687,874, so that there had been an expenditure upon the railway which was now handed over as security for the repayment of the loan, from outside sources, of \$36,007,491. With fifty millions as a reasonable estimate of the proceeds of land, given as security to the government, and with thirty-six millions of private capital put into the concern, and also handed over as security, he (Mr. White) thought there was not much risk in connection with this advance, and that as five per cent. was to be paid on it, it could not be said to be an addition to the burdens of the people. (Cheers.) But there was some risk, it was said, because

#### THE COMPANY MIGHT FAIL.

Suppose it did; suppose the worst came; what was the position of the country then? The construction of the Pacific Railway was an obligation resting upon this Dominion by every principle of national honour and of material interest. The estimate of the probable cost of the line had been, for a first-class line, as this admittedly was, \$120,000,000. What would be our position if the company made default and the road came into the hands of the government? Simply this that we would have the Canadian Pacific Railway complete, not from Callander westward only, but from Montreal and Brockville westward, fully equipped, with terminal facilities, workshops, steamers, and all for the sum of \$84,133,500, including the subsidies, the loan now made, the \$7,500,000 required to pay the balance due on the ten year annuities, the cost of the government sections, and the amount due on outstanding land bonds; that is, 3,393 miles of railway

for \$24,700 a mile, while the average cost of railways in the United States was \$52,753 per mile. That was better than the most sanguine ventured to hope for when the country undertook as a necessary condition of its development, to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway. (Cheers.) But we were told by Sir Richard Cartwright that this loan to the Canadian Pacific had involved the voting as

#### SUBSIDIES TO LOCAL RAILWAYS

of another \$22,000,000 which he was pleased to call a bribe to the provinces. Now, in the first place no such sum had been voted as subsidies to local railways; Sir Richard Cartwright was again inaccurate. Nor was the principle involved in these grants a new one. In 1882 parliament voted \$1,508,000 as subsidies, and no opposition was offered to the principle. The Gravenhurst road in Ontario got \$660,000, the Lake St. John road in Quebec, \$384,000, the Edmondston road in New Brunswick \$24,000 and a road from Oxford to New Glasgow in Nova Scotia \$224,000. Then in 1883, the sum of \$2,138,000 was voted as aid to local railways, and again no objection was made to the principle. This year the sum of \$9,168,000, not \$22,000,000 as stated by Sir Richard Cartwright, was voted. Of this \$2,398,000 was voted to Quebec as compensation to that province for the cost it had incurred in building the eastern extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway, \$960,000 towards the construction, if found necessary, of an independent line to the city of Quebec; \$200,000 a year for fifteen years, equivalent to \$3,000,000 towards the construction of what was known as the short line to connect the Canadian Pacific with winter ports in the Maritime Provinces, and the balance in smaller subsidies to various local railways, some of which would probably never be earned. Now the chief cry against these subsidies had been made because of the grants on account of Quebec railways. But when it was remembered that parliament had voted \$12,000 a mile for the line in Ontario from Pembroke to Callander, to connect the Pacific Railway with the Canada Central leading to Brockville, had voted \$12,000 a mile for the line from Gravenhurst northward to Callander to connect the Pacific Railway with the Northern leading to Toronto; that from six to eight hundred miles of the Canadian Pacific Railway itself was built in Ontario, developing the timber, the mineral and the agricultural resources of the province,

and thus bringing money directly into the treasury of the province, it was not unreasonable that Quebec should be compensated as it had been. There was no objection to the principle of these subsidies. The only amendment that came from the opposition was one complaining that Ontario had not a sufficient share. As *Grip*, which was certainly not a partial critic towards the conservatives, put it, Mr. Blake complained that the whole thing was immoral, but he must have more of the swag. (Laughter.) And in his second speech he thus dealt with the Quebec part of the resolutions:—

"I pointed out to the house what for a series of years had been the condition of the Province of Quebec, and I said it was not in the interest of the confederation that it should continue in that financial condition in which it was; and I declared my readiness to join in any reasonable and fair measure of relief for the readjustment of that condition; and I declared my readiness to look at this measure as being one in which the government proposed to bring forward that relief, and in that sense I acquiesced in it to such an extent as I could, and I did not take the responsibility, so grave was the responsibility in view of the attempt to restore at an early period the finances of Quebec, of moving a motion which, if it were carried, would have the effect of interrupting the proposition of the government; that for that very reason I declined to do it. I might have made a motion much more popular in other provinces if I had been hunting for votes. If I had chosen I might have said: No, I would not agree to anything of this kind. But I felt the interests of this country required that we should consider what the financial condition of the province was; and considering it I could not reconcile it to my duty to make a motion which, if it were to carry, would have the effect of interrupting the aid proposed to be given to the province."

Now it was this act, which Mr. Blake considered so important in the interests of confederation that he would not move an amendment which would have the effect of interrupting it, that Sir Richard Cartwright had denounced as an act of wholesale bribery in his presence in Toronto. It was true that at the last moment he voted against it, and found himself with a ministerial majority of ninety-three against him. In that vote all Mr. Blake's friends from Quebec, except one, all his friends from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and one of his friends from Ontario had deserted him and voted with the government; and his leading lieutenant, Mr. Mills, a very able man and certainly a very pronounced liberal, had left the house and shirked the vote. Having listened to their leader declaring that the measure was so important in the interests

of confederation that he would not move against it, they, more consistent than he, resolved that they would support it. (Cheers.) Now there was the question of

#### INCREASED SUBSIDIES TO THE PROVINCES,

which Sir Richard Cartwright had denounced as a mischievous act, intended to bribe the provinces into supporting the conservative party. What were the facts in relation to them? When the provinces were united, in 1867, they came into the union with a fixed debt each, which was assumed by the federal government. The actual debt of Ontario and Quebec was some ten millions of dollars more than this fixed debt, interest on which was charged against them and deducted from their subsidies. In 1873 this excess of debt was assumed by the Dominion, but there had never been a complete settlement of accounts. Last year these accounts were made up, and the provinces complained that the difference of debt had not been assumed as from 1867. Mr. Ross, the Treasurer of Ontario, in his budget speech, declared that this should be done, and that it was a right of the province to have it done. Sir Richard Cartwright himself, when finance minister, had assumed that to have been the intention of parliament, for he had paid the Quebec government, when Mr. Joly was in office, half a million of dollars, which was only done on the assumption that the excess of debt should be considered as having been taken over in 1867, and Sir Leonard Tilley finally consented to take that view, and readjusted the subsidies accordingly. Ontario obtained an increased subsidy of \$142,400; Quebec, \$130,000; Nova Scotia, \$39,668; New Brunswick, \$30,225; Prince Edward Island, \$9,148; Manitoba, \$5,541; and British Columbia, \$5,155. And for taking this view, which the ex-finance minister had taken when in office, and when he wanted to help his friend Mr. Joly in the Province of Quebec, which the Ontario treasurer had declared was the right of this province, the government is now denounced as guilty of a policy of wholesale bribery. More than that, this policy was not attacked in Parliament, no opposition having been offered to it. Then Sir Richard Cartwright had proceeded to cite a number of

#### INSTANCES OF WRONG-DOING

on the part of the government. There was the Exchange Bank advance, the appoint-



ment of Mr. Mousseau as a judge, the appointment of Mr. St. Onge Chapleau as a sheriff in the Northwest, the disposition of timber limits, the bill of indemnity to Sir Charles Tupper, the Section B arbitration and payment and the Robitaille farm purchase. That was a rather formidable array of charges, and he (Mr. White) would briefly refer to them. First, as to

#### THE EXCHANGE BANK ADVANCE.

The facts in relation to that were simply these: In the spring of 1883 a representation was made to the Finance Minister by certain of the directors of the bank, gentlemen whose confidence in it was such that they were holding their shares at 170, that an attempt was being made to embarrass the bank by a run upon it, and an advance to the extent of a couple of hundred thousand dollars was asked. The time was a critical one. The collapse of the land boom in the Northwest had produced a most serious impression, and the failure of a bank at that moment would have resulted in serious disaster. The matter was referred to the deputy Minister of Finance, who, after an examination of the returns of the bank, which are held to indicate its position, recommended a deposit of two hundred thousand dollars, which was afterwards increased by another hundred thousand, the government taking the personal security of one of the directors, the Hon. A. W. Ogilvie. What has occurred since has shown that great deception had been practised by the manager of the bank, so cleverly practised as to deceive the directors themselves, who are the chief losers. The claim of the government is held to be a first lien upon the assets of the bank, and an effort has recently been made, without success, to induce the government to abandon this first claim, and Sir Richard Cartwright, who complains of the advance in the first instance, appears now to complain that the government are exercising their legal right to get the money back. Referring to this he said: "We find now that in order to screen this gentleman and supporter (the Hon. A. W. Ogilvie) the government have taken up a very dubious position towards the unfortunate depositors of the Exchange Bank." As a matter of fact they could not have taken any other position without releasing the guarantor Mr. Ogilvie. It was a well established principle of law that a creditor must exhaust all legal means of collecting from a principal be-

fore he can come upon the security. And if the government gave up their first lien on the assets of the bank and attempted to enforce the claim against Mr. Ogilvie, it would be a good plea in law on his part that the government, by its own laches, had failed to collect from the bank itself, and could not therefore collect from him. Then we had

#### THE MOUSSEAU APPOINTMENT.

Sir Richard Cartwright was good enough to say that Mr. Mousseau should not have been appointed a judge, because, in a petition to avoid his election in Jacques Cartier, "a large sum of money had been paid either by Mr. Mousseau or his friends to one of the parties conducting the prosecution in order to enable Mr. Mousseau to escape the public consequences, personal disqualification." That was a modest way of putting it. There had been a protest against Mr. Mousseau's return, and a petition for his disqualification—certainly not an uncommon occurrence in these days, when the election courts are being used as a means of personal persecution, and the statement was made that \$5,000 had been paid to the counsel for the petitioners by some friends of Mr. Mousseau's to induce him to abandon the petition. But who was this counsel, because of whose prostitution of his position as a lawyer for personal gain, Mr. Mousseau was to be declared unfit for a position on the bench? Why none other than Mr. Mercier, the leader of the liberal party in the Province of Quebec! It was a cruel thing on Sir Richard's part thus to call attention to the peculiar method adopted by his friend Mr. Mercier, of making money out of the election courts. Then we had

#### THE ST. ONGE CHAPLEAU APPOINTMENT.

Mr. Chapleau was for many years an officer in the Department of Public Works, and some years ago was guilty of the very improper act of giving information to a public contractor. He resigned his position in consequence, and has not since been in the public service. He was an able man, had been an excellent officer, and had certainly suffered severely for his fault. The government so regarding the case had appointed him to a shrievalty at about a thousand dollars a year in the Northwest, and this was the terrible outrage for which they were to be condemned. And who were their accusers? The same gentleman who made Mr. Cauchon a minister of the crown, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba,

Mr. Cauchon, whose transactions in connection with the Beauport Lunatic Asylum had compelled him to resign his seat in the Provincial Legislature of Quebec, of whom the late Edward Goff Penny said that "he had coined money out of the most helpless of God's creatures," and of whom Mr. George Brown said that "his offences were rank and smelled to Heaven." Two wrongs did not make a right; but common decency should have prevented Sir Richard Cartwright from complaining of Mr. Chapleau's appointment to a paltry office, in view of his own relations with a much more heinous sinner, Mr. Cauchon. Then we had

#### THE DISPOSAL OF TIMBER LIMITS.

When the conservatives were in power before 1873 the policy with relation to timber limits was to sell them by public competition. When Mr. Mackenzie came in he changed the policy, and he (Mr. White) thought there were fair grounds for that change. Timber limits in the Northwest were not like those in the older provinces; they were scattered, and the discovery of them and their value involved considerable expense on the part of explorers. It seemed unfair that, having gone to that expense and trouble, parties should be subjected to ordinary competition to obtain them. That at any rate was the view of the Mackenzie government when they adopted the policy which had ever since prevailed, the change since being rather in the direction of restriction than otherwise. And how did the government of which Sir Richard Cartwright was a member act in respect of those limits? Their very latest act, after they had been defeated at the polls, was to give, as a matter of favour, no less than two hundred square miles of timber limits, subject to selection by the grantees over the whole Northwest, to political friends; and the first act of the new government when they came in was to cancel that sale. And yet it was the gentleman who, as a minister, was responsible for that grant, who now complained of the disposal of timber limits to political friends. (Cheers.)

#### THE INDEMNITY BILL.

Then we had the charge that Sir Charles Tupper had been permitted to hold his position as a member of parliament and of the government, while High Commissioner. The circumstances connected with this case were no doubt familiar to them. During the session of 1883 Sir Charles Tupper's health gave

way, and change of scene and work was urged upon him by his medical adviser. The High Commissionership had become vacant by the resignation of Sir A. T. Galt, and Sir John Macdonald urged that Sir Charles should accept the position, at least temporarily, and in order that there might be no question about the Independence of Parliament Act, the commission was given without salary, so that the offence which had been committed was that the duties had been performed, and performed in a manner to militate to the great advantage of the country, at a salary of \$7,000, instead of \$10,000 a year. There were some doubts as to whether there might not be some technical difficulty, and in order to save Sir Charles Tupper from the annoyance of vexatious law suits; the house having decided that he had not vacated his seat, passed a bill which could be pleaded in bar of any action brought against him. The Independence of Parliament Act had been passed to prevent ministers from purchasing the support of members of parliament by giving them contracts or employment. But certainly the spirit of the law was not violated in the case of the Minister of Railways who, being already a minister, did not require a bribe to induce him to support himself. (Cheers.) In the very first session of parliament under Mr. Mackenzie an indemnity act had been passed in the case of Mr. Perry, of Prince Edward Island, who was not even a legal candidate, but who was made a member of parliament by act of parliament; and in 1877 an indemnity act was passed to save a number of friends of the government from the penalties which they had incurred by becoming contractors for the government while members of the House of Commons. Sir Richard had certainly been hard pressed for grounds of complaint against the government when he had cited this case as one entitling them to condemnation. (Cheers.) Then as to

#### THE SECTION B CONTRACT,

the facts were these. The original contract was for sixty-five miles of very difficult railway, and the contract price was \$4,000,000. After it was let and the work had made some progress, the government became very anxious to hasten its completion, in order to utilize the road on either side, which had cost some \$10,000,000. Changes were made with this view. The rock bottom base, with structures, which in

the original contract was to cost \$960,477, was changed to rock borrow and pile structures, costing \$449,106; and some changes were made in the location of the line, by which some \$500,000 more would be saved. The contractors complained, first, that they were deprived of what they had regarded as their most profitable work by these changes, and that the failure to complete the adjoining section within the time specified in the contract, thus incurring for them largely increased cost in getting in their supplies, had resulted in further loss. The matter was referred to arbitration, the government selecting Judge Clarke, the contractors Mr. Brydges, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court appointed Mr. Light. After an exhaustive enquiry the arbitrators awarded the sum of \$395,600, for which the government took a vote of parliament, on the understanding that as Judge Clarke had not concurred in the award, the matter would be referred to the department of justice for report, before it was paid. That was the case of this Section B contract. If the full award is paid, the work will still have been completed at considerably less than the original amount of the contract, certainly an unusual result in the case of contracts. Then as to

#### THE ROBITAILLE FARM

about which so fierce an attack was made, it was sufficient to state the simple facts of the case. Some years ago the farm had been set apart as a supply farm for the Indians, and some money had been spent in improving it. It was found, however, to be unprofitable; to be in fact a source of serious expense to the government, and it was resolved to sell it. There were about 4,500 acres in all, and Governor Robitaille offered \$10,000 for it. The government objected to sell it, as it was within the twenty-mile belt; one half of it belonged to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and there were also the school and Hudson's Bay sections, which could not be sold. A Mr. Stimson made an offer about the same time, but after Governor Robitaille's offer, of \$12,000. The matter was finally referred to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, who is certainly not a Conservative, who came into the office as private secretary to Mr. Mills, but who is a most excellent officer, and he recommended that 2,366 acres, which was the proportion which the government controlled, should be sold to Governor Robitaille at \$3 an

acre, leaving him to make the best bargain he could with the Pacific Railway Company for the balance, that is, it was sold at the rate of \$14,209 for the whole. It seemed difficult to make out of that transaction a case justifying the overthrow of the conservative party and the restoration of Sir Richard Cartwright and his friends to office; especially so when it was contrasted with the sale of about 100,000 acres of land by private arrangement, in the County of Hastings, to a political friend, Mr. Coe, by the liberal government of Ontario. (Cheers.)

#### THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE.

And now he (Mr. White) had but a few moments to refer to the speculative portion of Sir Richard Cartwright's speech, the portion in which a feeler was put out in order to test the public sentiment on the subject of independence. He had suggested three conditions for the future of Canada. One was imperial confederation, which he had dismissed rather summarily in view of the fact that Mr. Blake was on the platform with him. Then he had touched upon the theory of an Anglo-Saxon alliance, defensive and offensive; but pleasant as was the picture drawn by him, he did not evidently consider it a very hopeful scheme. The independence of Canada was the solution which appeared to have most charms for Sir Richard Cartwright, and a large section of the press of the party had endorsed that view. He (Mr. White) had no hesitation in saying emphatically that he was opposed to that proposal. He desired to live and die a British subject, and he sincerely prayed that he might be permitted to do so. [Loud cheers.] Sir Richard was hardly logical; he spent the greater part of his time in proving that the financial obligations which Canada had incurred were altogether beyond our resources, and he suggested as a remedy that we should assume the additional expenditure of an independent national existence, with the cost of an army and navy and of a foreign consular service. What would independence give us that we did not possess to-day? We were told we should have the right to make treaties. How were we prevented from making treaties now? What people seemed to forget who talk about the importance of independence as giving us the power to make treaties was that it took two people to make a bargain. Our difficulty to-day was that

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the people with whom we wanted treaties did not want them with us. So far as the United States was concerned the treaty of 1854 had been made by Sir Francis Hincks, and the interests concerned were purely Canadian. Since the abrogation of that treaty Sir A. T. Galt, Sir John Rose, Sir William Howland, and Mr. George Brown had all gone to Washington to make a treaty, and the difficulty was not our colonial position, but the unwillingness of the Americans to renew treaty arrangements. We had now, by a recent concession of the Colonial Office, the power to make intercolonial treaties. England, an independent nation, failed in her efforts to make commercial treaties both with France and Spain for years, simply because they could not agree as to the terms. Would we be any the more likely to succeed if we were independent to-morrow? Suppose we were, and that we sent a deputation to Washington to make arrangements. We might offer a continental policy. We might propose to abolish all the custom houses in the interior, retain them on the ocean frontiers, charge the same duties, and divide the proceeds on the basis of population or some other basis. What would be the answer? We should be told that we had better come in to the confederacy of states if we wished the advantages we sought; and having given up the glorious heritage of being subjects of the greatest empire of the world for the sake of this so-called continental policy, we would not hesitate for a moment to give up the form of independence we had asserted, in

order to get that policy. Independence, in our condition, meant simply a few years of uncertainty, of futile attempts at accomplishing what we had sacrificed so much to accomplish, and then union with the United States. It would be more honest, from the lowest standpoint of mere material and commercial advantage, it would be more sensible, to accept annexation at once. No position could be better than that which we now enjoyed. Subjects of an empire on which the sun never sets, owing allegiance to a monarch whose prestige and glory are recognized the world over, protected by a flag, the symbol and emblem of power and freedom wherever it floats, and enjoying at the same time the most absolute liberty to manage our own affairs within our own borders, according to our own liking, it would be impossible to imagine conditions more favourable. He was an enemy to Canada, who sought at a time like this, when all our energies were necessary to work out the problem of development which lay before us, to create distrust and uncertainty in relation to the fundamental law of our political condition, and he (Mr. White) mistook the sentiment of the people of Canada if the liberals did not realize that they had made a terrible blunder in the selection of this new plank of independence upon which to build their political fortunes. [Loud cheers.]

A vote of thanks to Mr. White and the chairman, and cheers for the Queen, brought a most successful meeting to a close.

